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Cartographic Line and the "Paper Management" of the Early Modern State: A Case Study of Venetian Dalmatia

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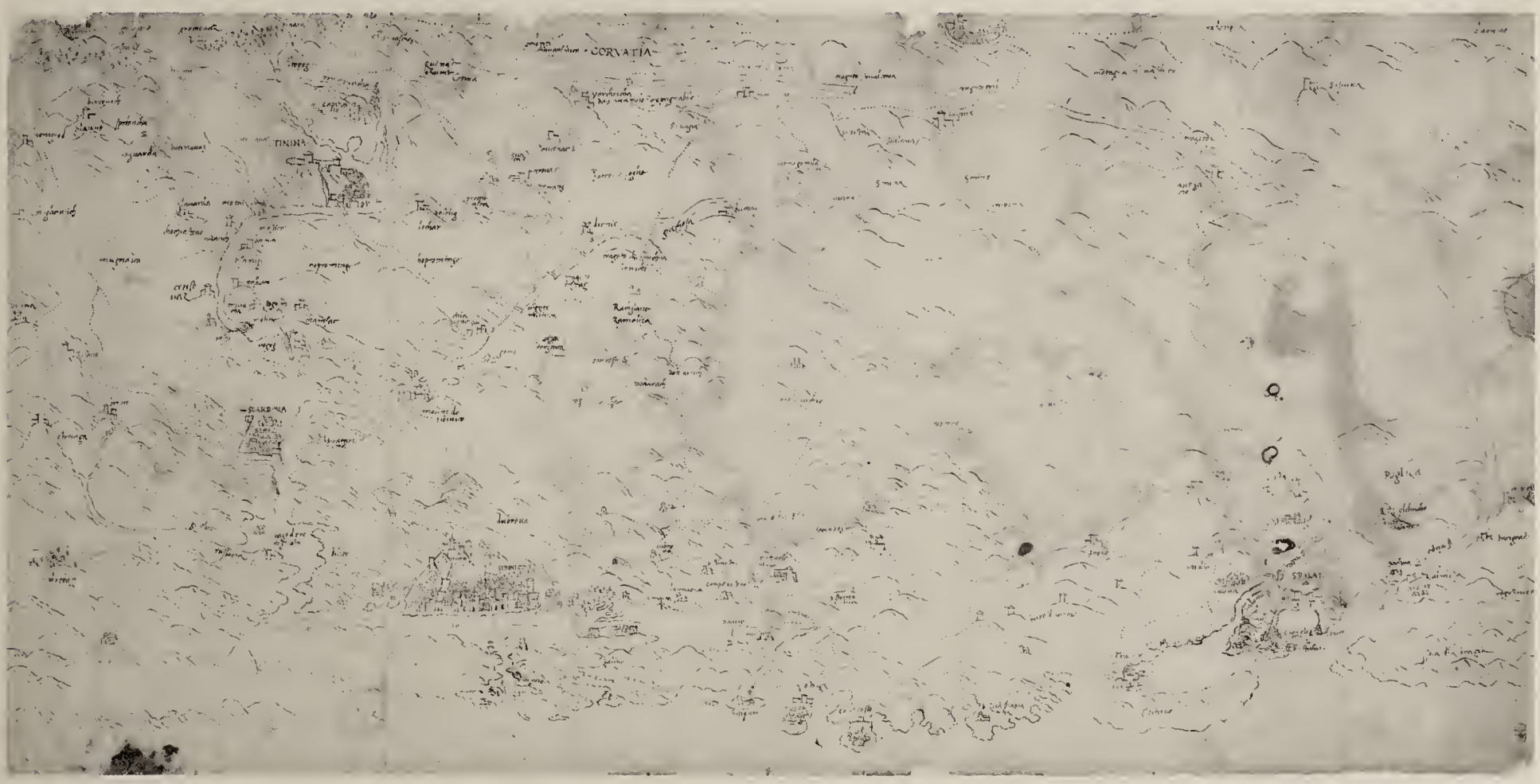

Figure 1: ASV, *Miscellanea Mappe*, 1663, pen and brown ink with wash, 29 x 60 cm (11.4 x 23.6 inches). Photograph from the office of photo-reproduction, Archivio di Stato, Venice (published with permission from the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, concession number 42/2014).

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Also in this issue: New Explorations in Art and Cartography: A Bibliography of Recent Work

In an insightful essay on the footprint of sovereignty, Michael Biggs observed that the world as we conceive it today "is a jigsaw of territorial states," the timelessness of which many mistakenly take for granted.[1] The efficacy of the trope turns on the vast number of maps marketed over the years as puzzles. But of course everything has a history and, upon reflection, it may not surprise that those who study parlor games trace the origins of the jigsaw puzzle to Thomas Spilsbury, a print seller in eighteenth-century London and a cartographer and self-proclaimed "Map Dissector in Wood," who was apparently the first to box and sell maps mounted on boards and cut along linear boundaries.[2] Conceived as didactic tools in childhood education with a focus on English counties, such "dissections," as they were called, soon came to map broader regions and were manufactured elsewhere, reinforcing through play the idea of the bounded state, the appearance of which predated the advent of the jigsaw puzzle itself by only half a century.

If the bounded state seems completely natural today, conceiving sovereign limits as width-less cracks

Figure 2: ASV, *Miscellanea Mappe,* 639, pen and brown ink with watercolor, 51 x 41.8 cm (20.75 x 16.5 inches). Photograph from the office of photo-reproduction, Archivio di Stato, Venice (published with permission from the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, concession number 42/2014).

did not occur in geopolitical negotiations in any systematic way until the turn of the eighteenth century, when frontiers were finally closed and fully surveyed borders were fixed on printed maps associated with official treaties. Until that point, boundarylines figured only randomly on maps, including those intended for the market. A comprehensive history of cartography's bounded state has yet to be written, but a good place to start is at the Newberry Library, which includes a number of maps important as comparative material in the study of the "paper management" of the early modern state, by which I mean the increasing dependence on written records in the state's archival turn. The following presents several hand-drawn maps from an early modern administrative archive while foregrounding printed maps at the Newberry in which the dotted or dashed line emerges as the precursor of seamless borders in the mapping of sovereignty.

An Italianist with an interest in spaces of encounter and exchange, I have decided, for the purposes of a case study, to concentrate on the *stato da mar* or maritime territories of Venice, with its vast collection

Figure 3: ASV, *Miscellanea Mappe*, 1154, pen and brown ink with watercolor, 51 x 43.3 cm (20.75 x 17.5 inches). Photograph from the office of photo-reproduction, Archivio di Stato, Venice (published with permission from the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, concession number 42/2014).

of written dispatches, reports, hand-drawn maps, and cityviews. At this stage I have limited my research to Venetian Dalmatia, on the eastern side of the Adriatic.[3]

The choice of Venice is far from arbitrary. Indeed the mapping of territories in the administration of the state was a Venetian innovation. In 1460 the republic's *Consiglio dei Dieci* ("Council of Ten") commanded governors throughout the empire to submit graphic representations of the regions under their authority, along with topographic studies and plans of strongholds.[4] It was there and then that cartography was first incorporated into an "information technology" tied to the governance of increasingly trans-regional states with their growing dependence on the collection, archiving, and delivery of data newly encoded in pictures as well as written form. In this age of territorial expansion such an innovation in data management was extremely efficacious, bringing greater clarity to discussions in dispersed locations about things that were site-specific, pertaining to sovereign rule. And it did so at a glance, with something portable.

Highly classified, these drawings were intended for restricted use and would not have circulated in public venues. Only one has surfaced recently on the market, purchased by the state archive in Venice in 1995 [Fig. 1].[5] Unsigned and undated, it offers a bird's-eye view of Dalmatia from the town of Sebenico and its surrounding countryside at the lower left to Spalato on the right, with northeast at the top, an orientation that was typical of maps of this area offered in print in the mid-sixteenth century.[6]

Misc. Mappe 1663, as I will refer to this map, was traced from a prototype using a dry, pointed instrument, the impressions of which are evident on the back of the paper.[7] The toponyms on the front were added when the incised lines (used for the littoral, riverbanks, and mountain ridges) were drawn over with brown ink, a practice I have noted with several hand-drawn maps in the Venetian archive. Yet if some were the result of simple tracing, others are freely drawn and more elaborate in their user-interface, with compass roses, scales, cartouches, coats of arms, and sometimes even legends. Many are also finely finished with watercolors. Kept in the Ducal Palace for security as well as ease of access,[8] they must have been handled frequently (if in the secrecy of inner chambers), for relatively few survive compared to records of their insertion in administrative correspondence. Those that do were stitched into sewn volumes (*filze*) with the documents in which they had been enclosed or slipped into folders of loose paper (*buste*) along with their dispatches, the latter inviting damage and dispersal. A critical mass no longer tied to written records is now kept in a collection known as "Miscellanea Mappe," as is the case with the traced drawing discussed above.[9]

Two additional examples from this "miscellaneous" collection were the focus of my research during a fellowship at the Newberry in 2013 [Figs. 2 & 3]. Unsigned and undated, they are almost identical in size and content although freely drawn by different hands. We do not know if Misc. Mappe 1154 was copied from Misc. Mappe 639 (which has additional details along the coast, at the lower right), if a third map provided the template for both, or if other copies existed. (I would note parenthetically that the hand copying of topographical drawings and the purpose of such facsimiles during the ascendency of the printing press, with its efficacy in mechanical reproduction, present interesting questions for the historian of early modern cartography.) We do not know the purpose for which they were intended, although the inclusion of heraldic devices suggests they were destined for specific recipients or produced under their aegis.[10] Like Misc. Mappe 1663, they comprise bird's-eye views of Venetian Dalmatia, if of a more northern section. Both have a compass rose and scale. If different in span, the scales (one totaling twelve "miles," the other, ten) have units of equal length. That said, distances between and among locations on the ground are frequently incommensurate from one sheet to the other. Yet the sites included are virtually identical if with variant spellings, all indicating a curious balance between free transcription and fidelity to a prototype.

In the main, Misc. Mappe 639 and 1154 are similar in appearance. Mountains and trees on each are

Figure 4. *Descriptio*, in Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, first edition, 1570. 37 x 49 cm (14.56 x 19.3 inches). Newberry Library, case 7G 1007 .64 vault flats.

enhanced by watercolor. The plains (the only arable land in Dalmatia) appear to be of less interest, bleeding into the white of the pages. But cities, towns, and fortresses stand out with neatly penned toponyms and schematic signs for "buildings" surmounted by crosses or crescents, an indication of their footprint in Christian or Islamic territory. Indeed these maps concern boundaries of jurisdiction, which are indicated, rather remarkably, by means of solid lines. Misc. Mappe 639 has one such line. Misc. Mappe 1154 has one following the same track, here labeled "1576," and a second, labeled "1537." These numbers, it turns out, refer to dates associated with two of the many (specifically seven) Ottoman-Venetian wars.[11]

For context here, the use of the solid or unbroken line to represent sovereign boundaries occurred only sporadically in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe, gradually adopted from the practice of surveying where it had long played a role in resolving property disputes.[12] Interestingly for my work, line was first used in the geopolitical settlement of territorial disputes with the treaties of Karlowitz (1699) and Passerowitz (1718), which resulted in the famous Triplex Confinium or "triple border" where Austrian Hapsburg, Ottoman, and Venetian lands converged in the Dalmatian hinterland around the town of Knin, along what had been an unstable border since the arrival of the Turks in the region (early sixteenth century). To my knowledge, this was the first time that limits of rule were fully measured, agreed upon by all

parties, drawn with precision, and transferred to copper plates for reproduction and distribution as a public affirmation of a binding, multilateral peace accord.[13]

Misc. Mappe 639 and 1154 predate this moment by almost 150 years. For those familiar with early modern Italian maps in print, the tracks of their boundary lines may bring to mind plates included in compendia associated with Giovanni Francesco Camocio (d. 1574), who along with his older contemporary, Matteo Pagan,[14] played a central role in the Venetian consolidation and dissemination of cartographic "knowledge" about Dalmatia in the mid-sixteenth century. Camocio's thriving business in Venice revolved around the printing and sale of books and engravings, including maps, which he had newly cut on copper plates and for which he frequently sought copyright privileges from the Venetian Senate (an indication of the competitive nature of this expanding market).[15] First sold around 1570,[16] his made-to-order collections were something of a novelty at the time, akin to the compendia concurrently marketed by Antonio Lafreri in Rome. [17] Known today as IATOs ("Italian Assembled to Order" atlases), they differed dramatically from that other groundbreaking collection of cartographic prints flooding the market at much the same time; Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (first edition, 1570) [Fig. 4]. While all brought together maps associated with different cartographers, Ortelius's atlases were purchased as standardized, ready-made "books" (i.e., previously bound volumes with maps of uniform size) representing "the world," with explanatory text printed on the verso of each plate.[18] By contrast Comocio's customers could, at least theoretically, determine the content and ordering of their volumes, selecting from the maps available in his shop, which were offered without additional text. Moreover, Camocio's plates (individually and as a group) had a narrower and overtly political focus. Not all comprised maps, a few represented fortresses or fleet formations during famous naval battles. Yet all has some relation to sites of conflict or contention in the fourth Ottoman-Venetian war (1570-73), in which Venice lost Cyprus (a crucial link in its trade network in the eastern Mediterranean) despite victory over the Turks by the Holy League (a Christian coalition including the papacy, Spain, and Venice) at the much celebrated Battle of Lepanto in 1571.[19] Thus Camocio's composite atlases were topical and timely when first circulating in the market in the early 1570s.

While there is repetition among them, the twenty-three surviving copies vary in content, which is not surprising given the kind of print-commodity they comprised. They also differ in their bindings, which can tell us something about their intended use. The Newberry's copy [Fig. 5] is striking in its functional simplicity. Its stab-sewn cardboard covering suggests a buyer interested in a handy reference tool without much concern for adornment or long-term preservation, making its good condition all the more remarkable.[20] With forty-six plates it is relatively short in length, even counting the table of contents at the front of the volume, which is penned in a sixteenth-century hand (I would deduce, at the time of sale). By comparison other examples contain as many as eighty-nine plates. None of them bears a publication date, even those with title pages, the inclusion of which probably post-dates Camocio's death when the business was taken over by Donato Bertelli. In fact it may have been Bertelli who named the collection *Isole famose, porti, fortezze, terre marittime della Repubblica di Venezia ed altri principi cristiani* (i.e., "Famous islands, port cities, fortresses, [and] maritime territories of the Republic of Venice and [of] other [sovereign] Christian [states]").[21] The coda to the title, "nuovame[n]te poste in luce" ("newly published"), leaves unclear the extent of Bertelli's interventions. That said, it appears that only after the introduction of the title page were copies of this composite atlas sold in luxury bindings, at which point tables of contents no longer seem to have been included when the volumes were sold, handwritten or otherwise. For these reasons I would suggest an early date for the Newberry's copy, certainly prior to Camocio's death but no earlier than 1571, the date on one of the prints I want to foreground here.

Included among the Newberry's plates are pendant prints featuring Zara and Sebenico [Figs. 6 and 7], both

with surrounding countryside, which appear in all the compilations I have examined to date.[22] Both maps are animated by vignettes of skirmishes with Turkish forces, a signature trademark of Camocio's collection. Placed sequentially in almost all of the examples,[23] these prints should ideally be read side-by-side, featuring a dotted line running from one to the other, which served to represent the Ottoman advance as if in real time, in 1571 (the date on the map of Sebenico).[24] In fact this kind of broken line, when it appeared in the sixteenth century (which was rare), was used for provisional borders or warfronts. Hand-drawn examples from the mid-sixteenth century include official documentation concerning contested ground between England and Scotland.[25] An example in print, contemporary with Camocio, occurs on the map of the Turkish Empire in Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* [Fig. 4] (included in its original state in all editions of atlas through 1579).[26] Here the dotted line represents the northwestern edge of the Ottoman front under Selim II (sultan 1566-74), making clear that Ortelius, like Camocio, included references to what were current events in the 1570s, in this instance, suggesting the inexorable advance of "the infidel" in Europe [Fig. 4].[27]

Camocio's dotted lines do not coincide precisely with the unbroken lines in the watercolor maps presented above; but in the early 1570s, when his composite atlas first appeared on the market, the Turks were still advancing. Before the war was over they were to take additional territory in Zara's *contado* or countryside, including Zemonico, a Venetian stronghold lost at the end of the conflict.[28] The ensuing border negotiations lasted three years, concluding in 1576 (a date familiar to us) with a written agreement describing boundary markers on the ground (crosses carved on trees; piles of stone). This document, a copy of which

Figure 5. Giovanni Francesco Camocio, Composite Atlas (after 1574 titled *Isole famose, porti, fortezze, terre marittime della Repubblica di Venezia ed altri principi cristiani)*, compiled c. 1571. 17 x 22 cm (6.7 x 8.66 inches). Newberry Library, vault, Baskes folio G1955 .C3 1574.

Confini di Croatia
Corbauaf.
Ostrouic.
Cdgrad.
Petri.
Genic.
Nogorouic.
Barleta
Slizanic.
Nouarote.
Zoha
Turasani.
Bucich.
Xagor.
Graue.
Gumic.
Racliouac.
Clegouic.
Belas.
Lica f.
Ribiuc.
Modernuic.
Formaco.
Lica fiu.
Nous.
Bosco
Villa
Xuniguan.
Racuac.
Druignan.
Corurtica.
Campagna.
Xegnar
Biline.
Bilisanc.
Lucenac
Slouigne
Rdaluc.
Debertac nouac.
M das
Pocitel
Conc.
S. Giorgi
M O R L A C A
Vrana
Obrouzo.
Xelengrad.
Octauada.
Crenaci.
Nouigrao.
Ville
Qui si pigano le ostreg.
Honorio de frati
Carin.
Scoglij
Ponta di Pago
Villa
Parano.
Ville
Bisligi
Fuogo.
Molini
Vilazo
Piegari.
Stirna
Nadin.
Corlauic.
Vrana.
Xemonigo.
Lago de Nadin
Villa.
Lago della Vrana
Molin da vento.
Villa.
Biis lapua.
Diuesco.
Riparo de maieri fatto del Conte Giulio Saurognan.
Vereuo
Parlascani.
Castello.
Zara uechia.
Canal de Zarra.
Zara nuoua
Isola de Zarra.
Frati
Monaci.
Villa
Villa
Villa

Figure 7. *Sebenico et contado città nella Dalmatia confina[n]te con Zarra (sic) d[el]li Ill[ustrissi]mi S[igno]ri Ven[etia]ni al p[resen]te da Tuchi molestado* (sic): 1571, (Sebenico and surrounding countryside, city in Dalmatia, bordering Zara, of the Most Illustrious Venetian Lords, at present under siege by the Turks, 1571). Camocio, *Isole famose,* compiled c. 1571. 17 x 22 cm (6.7 x 8.66 inches). Newberry Library, vault Baskes folio G1955 .C3 1574, plate 6.

to indicate towns and fortresses on the Ottoman side.

This brings us, in conclusion, back to Misc. Mappe 1663, with its preponderance of broken lines overlaying the landscape in a network of bends and curves. Although most appear above what was rugged terrain, skirting around cities and settlements, some are connected to bridges and *trageto* (traghetto) or "ferry" crossings on the Cetina River (near the top of the map); one even runs into the gateway entrance of the town of "Tinina" (Knin), for which reason it is tempting to construe them as roads or pathways. Indeed another (running vertically on the map, to the left of the fortress-town of Clissa) is coincident with a mountain pass permitting access to the hinterland in the east and, ultimately, to Ottoman Bossina, which was used for trade as far back as antiquity and included a thriving economy in trafficking in the sixteenth century. At least in certain instances, though, the broken lines also seem to refer to provincial boundaries. The one that begins rather inauspiciously at the lower edge of the map (to the right of Cavo Cesto), at a point on the coast with no indication of settlement or infrastructure, turns left or north and joins another emanating from the south, along which a *lione andante* or winged striding lion (symbol of Venice) appears three times. These allusions to the Venetian state are surely indica-

tive of the republic's proprietary relationship to the land in the map's stereographic field, below. Even if also a road, then, the broken lines in this instance must have operated as signs of sovereign limits (if only provisional limits), in that evolving technology of statecraft in which, as Matthew Edney so succinctly put it, mapping and "empire" were mutually constitutive.

Trained as an early modern Italianist with an emphasis on visual culture, Dr. Barzman's current work on identity-formation has taken a spatial and phenomenological turn. Books-in-progress look at borderlands as thresholds of difference (The Limits of Identity: Venice, Dalmatia, and the Representation of Difference) and the rise of mapping in the information technologies of trans-regional states, with their growing dependence on collecting, archiving, and delivering data newly encoded in pictographic as well as written form (Cartography and the Paper Management of the Early Modern State). Professor Barzman would like to thank the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Newberry Library, and Binghamton University for supporting the work from which this essay is drawn, and special thanks to Dennis Romano for assistance with permissions from the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali and to Peter Nekola, Assistant Director of the Hermon Dunlap Smith Center for the History of Cartography at the Newberry, and Maisie O'Malley, Program Assistant at the Center, for their patience and assistance.

1. Michael Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map: Cartography, Territory, and European State Formation," *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 41. 2 (1999), pp. 374-405, p. 374 in particular. The trope of the jigsaw is also found in James Akerman, "The Structuring of Political Territory in Early Printed Atlases," *Imago Mundi,* Vol. 47 (1995), pp. 138-54, p. 144 in particular, where it appears in reference to late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century maps of the minor German states. I am grateful to Dr. Akerman, Curator of Maps in the Department of Maps and Modern Manuscripts as well as Director of the Hermon Dunlap Smith Center for the History of Cartography at the Newberry Library, for stimulating conversations about cartographic practice and the territorial state during my residency at the Newberry in 2013.

2. The best histories here are still Linda Hannas, *The English Jigsaw Puzzle, 1760-1890: With a Descriptive Check-List of Puzzles in the Museums of Great Britain and the Author's Collection,* (London: Wayland Publishers, 1972); and Jill Shefrin, *Neatly Dissected for the Instruction of Young Ladies and Gentlemen in the Knowledge of Geography: John Spilsbury and Early Dissected Puzzles*, (Los Angeles: The Cotsen Occasional Press, 1999). Initially manufactured ("dissected") by hand, such puzzles are now known by the name of the power-tool eventually used in their making, the jigsaw.

3. For a comprehensive history of Dalmatia see Giuseppe Praga, *History of Dalmatia* (Pisa: Giardini Editori e Stampatori in Pisa, 1993, translation of the 1981 Italian edition). While nationalistic in tone Praga's work, written during the Second World War but first published in entirety in 1954, is still essential reading on the history of this region.

4. The decree is cited in several key studies in cartography, although nowhere reproduced. See Roberto Almagià, *Monumenta Italiae cartographica, riproduzioni di carte generali e regionali d'Italia dal secolo XIV al XVII* (Florence: Istituto Geografico Militare, 1929), p. 12); P.D.A. Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures and Surveys* (London,: Thames and Hudson, 1980), p. 60; John Marino, "Administrative Mapping in the Italian States," pp. 5-25 in *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps. The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, David Buisseret, editor (Chicago: Newberry Library, 1992), p. 6 in particular; Emanuela Casti Moreschi, "State, Cartography, and Territory in Renaissance Veneto and Lombardy," pp. 874-908 in *The History of Cartography, Vol. 3, Cartography in the European Renaissance,* Part 1, David Woodward, editor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007). Moreschi provides the archival citation - ASV, Consiglio di X, Vari, reg. XV (1454-59), f. 197r. Notwithstanding Moreschi's assertion that the decree applied to lands only in the terraferma or mainland, the ruling (issued in Latin) also clearly pertained to the stato da mar. I would like to thank Pierre Mackay, Emeritus, University of Washington, Classics and Department of Near Eastern Studies, for assisting with the transcription of this document and for sharing his insights regarding the translation.

5. Internal evidence suggests that this map was made after 1542, e.g., the defensive wall on Capo Cesto near the middle of the map's lower edge (here "Cavo Cesto," known today as Primosten in Croatian), built in 1542 to provide a safety zone for locals during heightened pillaging by Ottoman subjects living to the east, in Bossina (Bosnia). I am currently collaborating with Josip Faričić, historian of cartography at the University of Zadar, on a detailed study of Misc. Mappe 1663 and similar drawings in state archives in Italy and Croatia, which reveal extensive local knowledge on the part of the cartographers.

6. The earliest example, *Tut[t]o el contado di zara e sebenicho* ("The Complete Countryside of Zara and Sebenico"), is associated with the print shop of Matteo Pagan, who may have been the first mapmaker in Venice to employ cartographers with local knowledge of Dalmatia and its hinterland, evidence of which here is the extensive use of Croatian toponyms. While only one copy of the original woodcut survives (Collectie Bodel Nijenhuis, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, 53 X 37 cm or 20 ¾ x 14 ½ inches), Pagan's map had an important second life in Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (first edition 1570), which Ortelius had engraved on copper plate for the 1574 edition of his atlas. It appeared in all subsequent editions. For more on Ortelius's atlas, see below.

7. My thanks to Franco Vendramin, conservator at the state archive in Venice, for this information and for the opportunity to see the map in person in the laboratory. Since its restoration (completed in 2010), it is only available digitally.

8. On the archiving (and indexing) of state documents in Venice, see Filippo de Vivo, "Ordering the archive in early modern Venice (1400-1650)," *Archival Science* 10 (2010), pp. 231-248. Work is still to be done on the place of cartography in early modern archives.

9. In 1542 the creation of the *Provveditori alle fortezze*, Venetian officials overseeing garrisons throughout the empire, significantly increased cartographic production. Maps done for these officials were housed as a discrete collection in the Ducal Palace, along with three-dimensional models. They were eventually inventoried, in the second half of the eighteenth century, for which see ASV, Provveditori alle fortezze, 11: *Catalogo delle modelli, e dissegni delle piazze della Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia, e di quelle delli due regni di Cipro e Candia. Il Tutto Esistente Nell'Archivio Del Magistrato Eccelllentissimo Alla Fortezze. Per il cui comando furono con diligenza numerati e disposti in ordinata serie nelle diferenti categorie delle respetive Provincie, et epilogate quelle più particolari nozioni che a maggior facilità per l'uso da cadauno di essi Modelli, e Dissegni si sono pottute dedurre. E ciò colla personale assistenza del S:te General Rossini, nel 1759.* For a complete transcription of the inventory, see Pietro Marchesi, *Fortezze veneziane 1508-1797* (1984), pp. 197-213. From the catalog we learn that the drawings in this collection were rolled rather than laid flat or folded and that many were lacerated and almost illegible. Extant maps have not yet been matched with those listed in the inventory. The three-dimensional models (polychrome reliefs made of wood and stucco) are conserved today in the Naval Museum. Most of these date to the seventeenth century, although one or two may be as early as the late sixteenth. This sub-genre of Venetian cartography remains completely untapped in the scholarship.

10. Barely legible, the details of the device on Misc. Mappe 639, which may refer to a particular family, have not yielded anything conclusive. That said, the *lione andante* or "striding lion," a widely recognized symbol of the republic of Venice, imparts the aura of an official document. The red beret narrows the possibilities, although it was part of the formal regalia of various Venetian administrators and diplomats, including the *bailo* (Venetian diplomat in residence) in Constantinople. The context here suggests that it probably refers to a commander of the navy (*Capitano Generale del Mar*, who also donned the red beret), as the map comprises a "view from the sea." The device on Misc. Mappe 1154 is devoid of any family reference while the helmet at the top of the crest, into which we may be tempted to read some sort of military association, was common in heraldic imagery associated with those of noble status.

11. The first Ottoman-Venetian War took place from 1463 to 79; the second, 1499-1503; third, 1537-40; fourth, 1570-73; fifth, 1645-69; sixth, 1684-99; seventh, 1714-18. The last two were brought to closure by the Treaties of Karlowitz and Passerowitz respectively, for which see the text below. All these conflicts unfolded in decentralized theaters of war throughout the eastern Mediterranean and inevitably included the eastern edges of Dalmatia.

12. For a good overview of surveying and mapping in the transition from the late middle ages to early modernity, see P.D.A. Harvey, "Local and Regional Cartography in Medieval Europe," pp. 464-501, in *The History of Cartography, Vol. 1, Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean,* J. B. Harley and David Woodward, editors, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987) pp. 493 in particular, in a section titled "Surveying and Mapping." On England in particular, see Victor Morgan, "The Cartographic Image of 'The Country' in Early Modern England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* Fifth Series, vol. 29, 1979, pp. 129-154. Much remains to be done on the relation of surveying and mapping in Italy, but see Emanuela Casti Moreschi, "Technica dell'immagine che cambia: dalla misurazione agrimensoria al sistema trigonometrico," pp. 38-48 in *Padovo, il volta della città, dalla pianta del Valle al fotopiano*, Eugenia Bevilacqua and Lionello Puppi, editors, (Padua: Editoriale Progamma, 1987); and the essays in *Montebelluna. Storia di un Territorio. Cartografia ed estimi tra sei e settecento,* Elena Gasperini, editor, (Venice: Zincografia Serenissima srl, 1992).

13. A group of hand-drawn maps in the state archive in Venice belong to the diplomatic negotiations leading to the final terms of these accords and the printing of official maps associated with them. Unpublished and too numerous to list here, a good way to identify them in the archive is with the search-term "Knin," the town around which the triple border was fashioned.

14. On Pagan, see above, note 6.

15. Christopher Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome,* (Leiden: Brill, 2004) pp. 122-23 in particular.

16. My own research suggests that Camocio sold his compilations untitled, with handwritten lists of the selected maps appended in at least some of them, among which we may count the Newberry's copy. After his death (1574), the business was taken over by Donato Bertelli, who introduced key changes in marketing, probably including the introduction of a title page, for which see below.

17. On Lafreri's "Assembled-To-Order" compendia, see the ongoing project directed by Jean Marc Besse, "Antoine Lafreri's Atlases: Collecting, Conserving and Representing Geographical Knowledge," The Max Planck Institute for the History of Science (http://www.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/en/research/projects/DeptII_Besse_GeographicalKnowledge).

18. Beginning in 1573 Ortelius permitted limited customization by offering a predetermined selection of additional maps (*Additamenta*) that could be bound into the volume; but using the estimates of Marcel van den Broecke concerning surviving copies of the atlas, such "customized" copies represent only 5-10% of those still intact. See Marcel van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps: An Illustrated Guide,* (Westrenen: HES Publishers, 1996) pp. 17-20 in particular.

19. Much has been written about the Battle of Lepanto. For recent work on celebrations of the victory across multiple registers of representation, see Iain Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007) pp. 175-92. Also Cecilia Gibellini, *L'immagine di Lepanto. La celebrazione della vittoria nella letteratura e nell'arte veneziana*, (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 2008).

20. My thanks to Paul Gehl, George Amos Poole III Curator of Rare Books and Custodian of the John M. Wing Foundation on the History of Printing at the Newberry Library, for reflecting with me on the material aspects and make-up of Camocio's composite atlas at the Newberry.

21. This title is used almost uniformly in cataloging the surviving compilations, even those that do not contain a title page, which can be misleading in terms of dating not to mention the relatively humble status of this composite atlas when first marketed.

22. Newberry Library, vault, Baskes folio G1955 .C3 1574; Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Rari Ven. 244; Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Rari Ven. 592; Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Rari Ven. 370; Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, OP. PD. GR 3067; Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, OP.PD. GR 2761; Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, FOAN TES 790; Munich, Bayerishe Staatbibliothek, (only available electronically); New York Public Library, Camocio KB 1572.

23. In one of the compilations at the Cini Foundation (Venice, Fondazione Cini, FOAN TES 790) they are separated by an additional print of Sebenico, which comprises a close-up view of the city and is unrelated to the pendants in term of scale; it also does not include battle vignettes.

24. If "pages" in Camocio's composite atlas have print only on one side, it merits noting that in Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, OP. PD. GR 3067 some of the plates are bound into the volume face-to-face. This, however, is not the case where it would make sense in terms of reading or reception, as with the pendant plates of Zara and Sebenico. Decisions to position the plates on what ended up as recto or verso seem to have been arbitrary here, suggesting something less than a conventionally conceived, proper "book." I would note parenthetically that this copy of Camocio is the closest I have seen to the Newberry's in terms of economy in production, with a cardboard covering encased in simple, polished vellum. It, too, has a handwritten table of contents at the front, listing eighty-seven items. Number 76 ("Sardegna"), however, does not appear in the volume; and there are other signs of hasty production, including "dirty" printing of many of the plates.

25. David Buisseret, "The Cartographic Definition of France's Eastern Boundary in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Imago Mundi* vol. 36 (1984) pp. 72-80, p. 72 in particular.

26. In his *Cartographica Neerlandica* online (http://www.ortelius-maps.com/book/ort168.html), van den Broecke estimates approximately 1850 copies of this print from the original state, which he numbered 168.

27. The same map appears in editions post-dating 1579, cut anew with greater ornamentation (van den Broecke's number 169). The broken line referring to the Ottoman advance under Selim II remains but it is worth noting that it was no longer timely in those later editions, given the shifting geopolitics in central Europe.

28. It merits underscoring the up-to-date nature of Camocio's information when these plates first went to press, with Zemonico still in Venetian hands. That he might have had timely access to dispatches from the warfront is speculative but warrants further consideration, as it would contribute to what we know about the state's role in the shaping of public "knowledge" and opinion via commercial print culture. Another possibility is that the two Dalmatian cartographers in his shop, known in Venice by their Italianized names, Natale Bonifacio and Martino Rota, had access to unofficial networks of communication back home, which may have kept their employer informed about current news from the Dalmatian front.

29. For archival references to the military architect's use of the border description, see ASV, *Provveditori da terra e da mar, filza* 924.

30. I address Malacreda as civil and military engineer working at the edges of the Venetian *stato da mar* in a book I am writing, titled *Cartography and the Paper Management of the Early Modern State*. The book comprises a genealogy of cartography in the early modern state's "archival turn." Given the size and portability of maps, not to mention their multiple registers of representation and inscription, such a history ultimately speaks to the origins of practices we take for granted today in the "screen culture" of computers and mobile, display-based devices. While visualizing data and linking it with metatext is not restricted today to cartography, Google Earth and Google Maps make clear that concerns with the geospatial still drive innovations in data management.

31. Matthew Edney, "The Irony of Imperial Mapping," pp. 11-45 in *The Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire*, James Akerman, editor, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009) p. 12 in particular.

The Hermon Dunlap Smith Center for the History of Cartography was founded in 1972 to advance knowledge of the history of cartography and to promote the use of the Newberry's cartographic collections. Among the many programs it sponsors to achieve these goals are institutes and seminars, conferences, research fellowships, exhibitions, workshops for educators and public historians, public lecture series, and a variety of print and electronic publications.

Director: James R. Akerman
Assistant Director: Peter Nekola
Program Assistant: Maisie O'Malley

New Explorations in Art and Cartography: A Bibliography of Recent Work

Plate 6, *Carta Orografica* in *Atlas pintoresco e historico de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos*. 82 cm x 64 cm (3.3 x 25.2 inches). Newberry Library, Ayer 655.59 G2 1885.

Although both cartographers and artists produce images of the world, the places of maps and art in modern history and culture have been understood as distinct. Leonardo da Vinci famously drew maps and engineering diagrams with the same intellectual powers, creativity, and aesthetic sensibility that he brought to portraits and religious paintings. Johannes Vermeer incorporated representations of actual maps and globes in his paintings; works that art historians have described as cartographic in their approach to space and vision. But these convergences of maps and art traditionally have been seen as historical exceptions. Since the eighteenth century, Western cultures have viewed maps primarily as practical or scientific tools, reliant on measurement and judicious selection of empirical data, and guided by uniform practices and symbolic conventions. A proper map, in this view, bases its claim to value on how accurately and usefully it describes geographical reality, not on its aesthetic qualities. While visual art has likewise endeavored to represent the visible world, assessments of its power and authority have usually appealed to different values, from the self-expression of artists and patrons, to the embodiment of philosophical and religious concepts, to the representation of social and political situations, and, of course, to aesthetics.

Since the late 1980s, however, cartographic historians have argued that maps are cultural constructions as much as they are products of science, profoundly shaped by prevailing worldviews and the contexts in which they were created. This view challenged the traditional emphasis on the fleshing out of

the world map by Western explorers and geographers and on progress in cartographic methods and technologies. It has focused new attention, for example, on the political contexts in which maps are created and deployed, in the administration of modern states, the shaping of national identities, the expansion of European empires, and the study of non-Western graphic traditions formerly dismissed as irrelevant to the history of mapping, such as pre-contact Mesoamerican community histories and cosmologies.

The broadening of scholars' interest in the cultural and historical aspects of mapping thus reflects not only a shift away from a dominant Western orientation of earlier scholarship which had been concerned largely with scientific and technological progress, but also a growing interest in the relationship between art and mapping. While map scholars and collectors had long admired the beauty, color, and pictorial vignettes of early printed maps, these elements, often found on the margins of maps, were also seen as marginal to a map's meaning as a geographical document. The disappearance of these elements in much of Western mapping during and after the European Enlightenment seemed to confirm that cartography had turned towards more rigorously mathematical and empirical methods. David Woodward's *Art and Cartography* (1987) challenged these ideas by opening a dialogue between cartographic and art historians about the shared aesthetics and conceptualization of early modern European maps and art. Later scholars emphasized that pictorial types of mapping flourished in popular genres such as tourist and promotional cartography (Akerman 2006; Holmes 1991), journalistic (Cosgrove 2005), and propagandistic cartography (Pickles 1992; Schulten 2010). Traditional map scholarship had marginalized these maps largely because they had not been created by professional cartographers allied with the natural or social sciences. Such scholarship overlooked the participation of professional artists skilled in topographic, botanical, biological, and ethnographic representation, and later in photography, in scientific surveys and mapping expeditions, such as those in the American West (Balm 2000; Kinsey 1992; Krygier 1997; Merrill 2005). Perhaps also, the traditional narrative of the history of cartography did not consider the possibility that the austere appearance of the typical atlas or topographic map of the later modern period may have reflected a shift in cartographic aesthetics rather than a banishment of aesthetics from maps altogether.

Studies of art and visual culture likewise have explored the reliance of artists on scientific approaches to urban and rural landscape imagery (Alpers, 1983; Schulz, 1978). Art historians have detected cartographic sensibilities in painting and drawing, but have been slower to appreciate cartography itself as a type of graphic art. Meanwhile, mapping has provided the content and form of countless examples of art since the mid-twentieth century. Jasper Johns's Map from the early 1960s is perhaps the most famous example of this trend, which has accelerated since the 1980s with the contributions of Nina Katchadourian, Ruth Watson (Cosgrove, 2005; Watson, 2000), and many others. The trend has been the subject of several recent studies, as well as many exhibitions and catalogs (Bender and Possidente, 2001; Casey, 2005; Harmon, 2004; Harmon and Clemens ,2009; Krygier and Wood, 2005b; Watson, 2009, to name a few). The rise of "map art" defies easy explanation, but certainly presents a challenge to the professional and disciplinary boundaries that have shaped prevailing conceptions of maps and art.

James Akerman and Diane Dillon

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**Mapline* recognizes and appreciates the growing scholarship on art and cartography. If you are aware of publications not listed in this bibliography, please send the title to our Managing Editor, Maisie O'Malley, at omalleym@newberry.org.

Pictures from an Expedition: Aesthetics of Cartographic Exploration in the Americas

America divided into North and South with their several subdivisions and the newest discoveries, by Robert Laurie and James Whittle, 1800. 49 x 52 cm (19.3 x 20.5 inches). Newberry Library, Baskes Collection Oversize G1015 .R63 1801.

On June 20-21, 2013, the Newberry Library hosted "Pictures from an Expedition: Aesthetics of Cartographic Exploration in the Americas." This two-day symposium organized by Ernesto Capello (Macalester College) and Julia Rosenbaum (Bard College) brought together scholars from across the Americas to offer a fresh approach to the study of mapping and art in the nineteenth century. By incorporating expeditionary visual material from across the hemisphere, participants questioned the primacy of the "nation" that has fueled much contemporary scholarship on maps as visual culture.

The five sessions of papers in the symposium collectively addressed maps as aesthetic objects in their own right, as well as in relation to other visual materials circulating in the nineteenth-century public sphere. The first session featured papers by Joni Kinsey (University of Iowa), Marci Clark (Graduate Center, City University of New York), and Capello on the topic of privileging of perspectives in creating expeditionary maps. In the next session Jason Weems (University of California, Riverside), Imre Demhardt (University of Texas, Arlington), and Kenneth Haltman (University of Oklahoma) explored the connections between "seeing and marking" in cartographic representation and pictorial metaphor. The first day concluded with a session on the "imperial view" with papers from Magali Carrera (University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth), Nancy Applebaum (Binghamton University), and Scott Manning Stevens (The Newberry Library, now Syracuse University) considering links between state power and cartography, and other visual materials. The topic of visual lines drawn along political borders opened the second day's sessions, with papers from Mary Peterson Zundo (University of Illinois), Katherine Morrissey (University of Arizona), and Carla Lois (University of Buenos Aires & CONICET). The final session examined expedition and place, with papers presented by Amanda Murphyao (Carleton University), Richard Francaviglia (University of Texas, Arlington), James Akerman (The Newberry Library), and Julia Rosenbaum (Bard College).

The symposium proved to be a lively forum for scholarly debate and discussion regarding nineteenth-century visual culture and its role in the production of a cartographic aesthetic. Each session had a commentator who stepped back and offered an overview and theoretical perspective on the set of papers, and each session included a question and answer period engaging the audience. This structure facilitated a rich dialogue with both participants and audience, particularly during the open roundtable that concluded the symposium.

In Review

Simon Garfield, *On the Map: A Mind-Expanding Exploration of the Way the World Looks* (New York, 2013)

The history of cartography remains a tempting subject for authors writing for a wide audience. The latest of these is Simon Garfield, whose *On the Map* draws attention to many ideas that often escape scholarly journals. Garfield has, for instance, some wonderful riffs on the well-known London Tube map. His map of worldwide Facebook connections, made in December 2010, reveals the world's astonishing interdependence, while his pages on globes and on the cartographic devices available to the Allied leaders in the Second World War draw much scattered material together. A set of short chapters on the brain leads the reader not only into possible gender differences in modes of cartographic perception, but also into the effects of our increasing reliance on global positioning systems. There seems only one obvious error: the portolan chart on page 111 surely shows the northern Mediterranean rather than Africa. *On the Map* is not annotated, but it has a good, current bibliography.

David Buisseret

Briefly Noted

Exhibitions

The Library of Congress presents "Mapping a New Nation: Abel Buell's Map of the United States, 1784," featuring the first map of the newly independent United States compiled, printed and published in America by an American. Rare and historically important, the Abel Buell map was also the first map copyrighted in the United States. Also on display are four early maps of North America by John Mitchell, Carington Bowles, Thomas Hutchins and William Faden, which were created from 1755 to 1778. A 1784 map of the United States by William McMurray, which was published nine months after Buell's map, will complete the exhibition. http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/mapping-a-new-nation/

The Stewart Museum's "History and Memory" showcases almost 500 artifacts, images, archival documents, and early maps from the Museum's vast collection demonstrating the influence of European civilizations in New France and North America. Planispheres, star charts, and maps of North and South America and the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans amply illustrate the expanding geographic knowledge gained by Europeans as they made their way across continents that until then had remained *terra incognita*. The Museum, located in Montreal, also displays a major collection of globes and navigational instruments. http://www.stewart-museum.org/en/history-and-memory-105.html

"Charting the Land of Flowers: Five Hundred Years of Florida Maps" features items selected from the J. Thomas and Lavinia W. Touchton Collection of Florida Cartography at The Tampa Bay History Center. Maps and charts represent some of the "Florida" map-makers visions that have been created over the past 500 years. Tampabayhistorycenter.org

"Nova Caesarea: A Cartographic Record of the Garden State, 1666-1888" commemorates the 350th anniversary of the naming of New Jersey and introduces viewers to the maps that charted the state's development—from unexplored colonial territory to the first scientifically-surveyed state in the Union. Coastal charts, manuscript road maps, and early state maps provide a historical background to the major focus of the exhibition: the state's first wall maps and county atlases. The exhibit also includes illustrations from the county atlases contrasted with photographs of the places today. "Nova Caesarea" opens August 17, 2014 and runs until January 25, 2015, and can be seen in the Main Gallery of the Firestone Library at Princeton University. http://blogs.princeton.edu/rbsc/2013/12/06/nova-caesarea-the-350th-anniversary-of-the-naming-of-new-jersey/

Explore Boston's ethnic diversity in "A City of Neighborhoods: The Changing Face of Boston," a special exhibition featuring maps of Boston's immigrant population based on the 2010 Census. The exhibit, hosted by the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library, uses historic, modern, and digitized maps of Boston. "A City of Neighborhoods" runs through August 23, 2014. http://maps.bpl.org/

Mapline is the official publication of The Hermon Dunlap Smith Center for the History of Cartography at the Newberry Library. Since 1976 it has been devoted to advancing knowledge of the history of cartography by reporting events, ideas, and issues in the field. In addition to printing short articles reflecting current research in the field, it functions as a bulletin to announce recent acquisitions to the cartographic collections at the Newberry, and keeps readers informed of the center's work, publications, and sponsored events. It also contains brief reports on conferences, exhibitions, and societies and lectures beyond the Newberry.

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Map Talk

Detail from the *Automobile Association Large Scale Atlas of Great Britain*, 2001 (Basingstoke, 2000).

From Robert MacFarlane, *The Wild Places* (New York, 2007):

It can take time and effort to forget the prejudice induced by a powerful map. And few maps exercise a more distortive pressure upon the imagination than the road atlas. The first road atlas of Britain was produced in 1675 by John Ogilby. It was six-volume work, which claimed to be the only "Ichnographical and Historical Description of all the Principal Roadways in England and Wales." Ogilby's maps showed a scrupulous attention to landscape detail; they depicted not only roads, but also the hills, rivers and forests that the roads ran round, along, through and over.

In the centuries since Ogilby's innovation, the road atlas has grown in ubiquity and influence. Over a million are sold in Britain and Ireland each year; twenty million are thought to be in circulation at any one time. The priorities of the modern road atlas are clear. Drawn by computers from satellite photos, it is a map that speaks of transit and displacement. It encourages us to imagine the land itself only as a context for motorized travel. It warps its readers away from the natural world.

When I think of this map – when I think in this map – I see the landscape in grainy CCTV splices, in images of direction, destination, purpose: vehicle brake-lights at dusk, the hot breath of exhausts. The road atlas makes it easy to forget the physical presence of terrain, that the countries we call England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales comprise more than 5,000 islands, 500 mountains and 300 rivers. It refuses the idea that long before they were political, cultural and economic entities, these lands were places of stone, wood and water.

Contributed by David Buisseret